1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 under the seals of Yár Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán. The original is now in my possession. In this certificate they state that, "when the *Sáhibs* arrived at Kúndúz, they got into trouble, and were relieved from their difficulties by the services of the Syad, who was then at Kábul, and that, in consequence of his zeal and devotion, the *Sáhibs* begged him to remain in Kábul until their return."

I obtained all these documents in original from the Syad himself, who, as a Shiah Musulmán, had sought and obtained service at the Shiah court of Lucknow.

175 Towards the end of the year 1834, the eccentric
● 648 Dr. Henderson reached Lé, the capital of Ladák, disguised as a Musulmán, calling himself Ishmaïl Khan. His disguise was soon penetrated, but he was kindly treated by the Gyalpo, who at once saw, in the opportune arrival of a British officer, a possible means of averting the ultimate conquest of his kingdom. In August 1834, Ladák had been invaded by Zoráwar Sing, the local Governor of Káshtwár, under Raja Guláb Sing, of Jammu. At the time of Dr. Henderson's arrival at Lé, the invaders had taken possession of the western provinces of Suru and Drás, and had advanced into the valley of Paskyum. Henderson's presence immediately recalled to the Gyalpo's memory the offer which he had once before made, through Moorcroft, of allegiance to the British Government. The rulers of India had already snatched Sindh from the rough grasp of the Lion of Lahor, and the simple Tibetan vainly thought that they would be equally willing to save Ladák from the arms of his lieutenant. Dr. Henderson was therefore applied to; but as he had crossed the British frontier against the positive prohibition of his

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Government, and was now in Ladák when he ought to have been in Calcutta, he was unwilling to make any communication which would at once expose his violation of the orders of his Government. The draft of the original tender of allegiance which was forwarded by Moorcroft was shown to him; but his position prevented him from acting as Moorcroft had done. His refusal irritated the Gyalpo, and he was prevented from leaving Ladák without being actually imprisoned.* Meanwhile the people were informed that a British envoy had arrived, and that the invaders would speedily be obliged to depart. Zoráwar Sing immediately reported the circumstance to his master, Raja Guláb Sing, who applied to the Maharaja. Ranjit Sing at once "addressed the political agent at Ludiána to ascertain the meaning of such proceeding. The agent satisfied Ranjit Sing with an assurance that Dr. Henderson, the traveller, had passed the Sutlej in direct violation of the orders of his Government; and that there was not the slightest idea of interfering with Ranjit's plan of extending his conquests northwards. Zoráwar Sing, after this explanation, was desired to proceed with his operations;"† upon which Henderson was allowed to depart. In fact, he was detained so long as his presence was of service to the Gyalpo in delaying the loss of his kingdom.‡

Dr. Henderson was provided with instruments; and as, according to Baron Hugel, he had some tact for

* My information agrees with Hugel's. The Baron obained his version from Henderson himself. I got mine from the Botis of Ladák, and the officers of Zoráwar Sing's force.

† Quoted from Hugel's Travels, p. 102.

‡ Vigne, vol. ii. p. 337, says that Henderson himself complained to Ranjit of his detention at Lé.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

131 648 the late lamented Vans Agnew and myself. We left Simla on the 2nd August, 1846, and proceeded due north through Mandi, Kullu, and Láhul, to the Bara Lácha Pass, just beyond which stands the well-known *phálang-danda*, or boundary-stone, between the British province of Láhul and the Ladáki district of Zanskar. From this point we proceeded to the Tshomoriri lake, and I mapped in the British boundary from the *phálang-danda* to the Chinese frontier.

We were accompanied by Anant Rám, the Vazir of Shassa, in Kanáwar, who was deputed to attend us by the Raja of Bisahar, because he knew Hindustani, and could both speak and write Tibetan. To him we intrusted the Governor-General's letter addressed to the Chinese Governor of Lhasa. Anant Rám proceeded by Tashigong and the valley of the Indus to Gáro. On his arrival, the people at first refused to let him see the Governor; but as he persisted (according to his instructions) in declining to make over the letter to any one but the Governor himself, he was at length admitted within the fort, and then presented the letter. The Governor remarked that no letter had ever yet been received from the British authorities, and that his only communications to the westward were with the Raja of Bisahar. Anant Rám replied that he was the servant of the Bisahar Raja, who had directed him to accompany the British officers to the Chinese frontier, for the purpose of delivering the letter in question. On this, the Governor remarked that he would forward the letter to Lhasa, but that an answer could not be received for a whole year. A tent was then provided for Anant Rám, and he remained at Gáro for eight days, and was well treated the whole time.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Early the following year, as soon as the passes were open, the Raja of Bisahar reported that some Chinese authorities had arrived at Gáro, and that they had been despatched by the Governor of Lhasa. It was therefore determined to send a second commission to the Tibetan frontier for the purpose of laying down the ancient boundary between Ladák and Tibet. Three commissioners were appointed,—

Captain (now Major) Alexander Cunningham, of the Engineers.

Lieutenant (now Captain) Henry Strachey.

Dr. Thomas Thomson.

Captain Henry Strachey had already distinguished himself by his bold and successful visit to the holy well of Mánasarovara in the previous year, and Dr. Thomas Thomson was well known as one of the first botanists in India. The mission was supplied with portable magnetic and meteorological instruments; but as only one barometer was procurable, the observations for atmospheric pressure were confined to the parts of the country which Captain Strachey visited. My observations for temperature and moisture were continued from the south-eastern boundary of Spiti, throughout Ladák and Kashmir, to Shamsábád on the western frontier of the Panjáb. I observed the magnetic dip, declination, and intensity at Puga, Lé, and Molbil in Ladák, at Trinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and at Shamsábád. All these observations, with the exception of those at Ladák, were taken on the regular term-days laid down for monthly magnetic observation.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—RELATIONS WITH SURROUNDING STATES.

The few questions of foreign polity that the government of Ladák had to deal with were simple and easy. They were chiefly confined to political relations with Balti and Rudok; to commercial ties with Yarkand and Kashmir; and to the religious connection with Lhasa. The last was a national bond of union between two people speaking the same language, and holding the same faith; and the presents which were annually sent to Lhasa, by the Gyalpo of Ladák, were an humble offering to the Dalai Láma, as the head of the Buddhist religion, and not an extorted tribute to the emperor of China as lord paramount.

The difficulties of the passage of the Karakoram mountains prevented the Chinese governors of Yarkand and Kotan from attempting the conquest of Ladák; and the poverty of the country offered no temptation to the Mahomedan rulers of Kashmir. The Ladáki relations with these states were therefore friendly. With Rudok on the east there has been a long peace. The boundary is well defined by piles of stones, which were set up after the last expulsion of the *Sokpo*, or Mongol hordes, in A.D. 1687, when the Ladákis received considerable assistance from Kashmir. With Balti on the west, however, there existed a continual state of border-plundering, accompanied with fire and sword, which occasioned frequent references, and which created and kept up unfriendly feelings between the two states. The difference of religion greatly added to the natural antipathy of neighbourhood; and two centuries ago these two causes combined to lure Ali Sher and the Mahomedans of Balti to the invasion and partial conquest of Ladák.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people whose principal means of livelihood are derived from the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

643 651 177 578 177 491 643

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

205

All officers of government make use of the village couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence;

[648] ● 205

* *rTa-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

[19] Tibet AJ1

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 789

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [197]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[771] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
●648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101
The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, 631
and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása.
As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the 101
central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people."
I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángtháng, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.
There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."
At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. 175
After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás 631
Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to 648
the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
●648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
717 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

WT 772 795 688

once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311

LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241

LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648

LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565]

WT 648 554 661 T 648 661

WT 648 439 554

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 608 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmír, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmír" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

Tibet AJ1

WT 175 778 648 T 175 778 648

It was agreed as follows:--

(1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-lda ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained.

(2) Only Ladákis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngárees-khor-sum wool trade (i.e., to cross the Eastern frontier of Ladák, for the purpose of purchasing wool in the Gárdok, Poorang, and Googey Districts).

(3) No person from Ladák, except the royal trader of the Ladák Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudok.

(4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Láma of Lhása), from Lhása to Ladák, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea-- (this is the "Chhaba," vide page 20).

(5) A "Lo-chhak" (vide page 85) shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhása with presents. As regards the quality and value of presents brought for all ordinary Lámás, the matter is of no consequence, but to the Lábrang Chhakdzot (i.e., the Treasurer of the Grand Láma of of Lhása) shall be given the following articles, viz.

(a) Gold dust--the weight of 1 zho 10 times i.e. about Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 worth.

(b) Saffron--the weight of 1 srang (or thoorsrang) 10 times, i.e., about Rs. 60 worth.

(c) Yarkhand cotton cloths--6 pieces.

(d) Thin cotton cloth--1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhása, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants. For the uninhabited portion of the journey, tents will be supplied for the use of the Mission.

(6) The country of Ngárees-khor-sum (viz., Gárdok, Poorang and Googey) shall be given to the Omniscient Drukpa Láma, Mee-pham-wáng-po, and in lieu thereof the Deywa Zhung will give to the Ladák king three other districts (I don't understood [sic] this, perhaps this part of the treaty is genuine, but has never been given effect to) in Great Tibet.

[175] (7) The revenue of the Ngárees-khor-sum shall be set aside for the purpose of defraying the cost of sacrificial lamps, and of religious ceremonies to be performed at Lhasa.

WT 175 178 648 (8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

WT 631 478 With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

131 Chapter I.

The District.

101 Configuration and sub-divisions of wazírí Láhaul.

133

[648]

Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 80 feet per mile.

133

The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

[778]

[311]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 **Chapter III, D.** **Village Communities and Tenures.**

both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

623 Government control over waste.

649 In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négi* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négi* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

622 651 623 In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemmo* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugán* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

651

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

421
651

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazarána* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chatrú* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*.

[421]

Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul).

649 ●
651
421

When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazaránas* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangnd* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

P. 143

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.
Land and Land Revenue.
Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul.)

must be considered as part of the Sikh *betanná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolas* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazírs* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatrú* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulís had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seorái."

Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

British assessment of Láhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *frokí*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Láhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kángra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kángra than in Láhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Láhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladákh were diverted by order of Mahárája Gúlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahárája lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Láhaulís. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Láhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Giálpo of Ladákh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lákh* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 34 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams (*shágu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Basáhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Basáhir and Kúlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

Those assigned to the monasteries paid in grain only at from fifteen to twenty *lákh* each, and formed *kothí* Chuzí; those in other or *Khálsa kothis* paid a little grain, and also sums of cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all the holdings in a village was, with very few exceptions, the same, though the holdings seem to have always differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten *khal* or *lákh* according to the amount and quality of the land held. The grain items in *Khálsa kothís* also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was called *pun*, the unassigned grain was called *netal* or barley tax. The amount collected under the latter name on the king's account must have been more than 200 *lákh*; but probably those figures represent correctly the amount which went to Ladákh, for the greater part of the grain collections were spent year by year in Spiti in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and State charges. This was the old state of things, which Major Hay evidently did not fully comprehend, for he states in his report that 50 Chinese families settled in Spiti, paid a tribute to China of 200 *lákh* of grain, and that an envoy from Tolang came to fetch it every year. Again, in another place, he mentions that the aforesaid Chinese families go by the name of Chuzí, and present annually 200 *lákh* to the chief monastery of Spiti. All this was a mistake: the Chuzí families were not Chinese, but the men of Chuzí *kothí*, the revenue of which was assigned to monasteries. One of these monasteries, to which something less than 200 *lákhs* were assigned, was at Tolang in Chinese Tibet; hence the story of tribute to China.

651 648 634 Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

From 1839 to 1846 the Sikh *thánadár* at Ladákh took the revenue of Spiti. For the first four years Rs. 2,000, plus two ponies and 25 sheep, were exacted annually. For the last three years the cash was reduced to Rs. 1,031, but 100 iron crow-bars were added, and the number of sheep increased to sixty. A Sikh force also plundered the valley in these years. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Vans-Agnew made a Summary Settlement, that is, he fixed the amount of revenue to be paid to Government at Rs. 753. No records were compiled of any kind, nor was any report submitted. When relieved of the pressure of the Sikh exactions, the Spiti people at once reverted to their old fiscal arrangements. Mr. Vans-Agnew probably knew nothing of the grain revenue assigned to the monasteries, as he merely passed quickly through a part of the country; and if he knew of the unassigned grain, he, no doubt, intended to abandon it. But the people considered the Rs. 753 to be in place only of the cash, cloth, and iron formerly paid to the kings of Ladákh, and divided it accordingly with strict regard to the old fixed assessment. The assigned grain or *pun* they paid as before to the monasteries, and the unassigned grain or *netat* to the representative of Government, who for the first three years was a *wazír* of the Basáhir Rája,* and after that the hereditary *wazír* of Spiti, commonly called the *Nono*. Most of it the *Nono* expended in the manner customary

* The 400 *lákh* grain which Major Hay mentions as taken by the *wazírs* in excess of Rs. 753 in 1846, and as collected again in 1849, were the *netat* collections, not the produce of the Government land at Danka.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *lákh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *lákh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *lákh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *lákh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

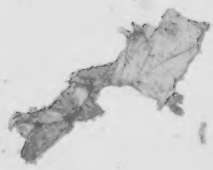
● 648 Chapter V, B. Land and Land Revenue. 651

British assessment of Spiti. 634

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothis*.

[33]

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—"Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Lâhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Basâhir, Ladâkh and Kûlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."



of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore dark glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "*Ju Le, Ju Le*"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

"What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved north to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

484 question whether he would return to Lhasa was still undecided.
• 648 Pending that decision, the Chinese Army was waiting a respectful distance from Lhasa. When the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa on August 17, 1951, the Chinese Red Army moved into action. Communist contingents poured into Lhasa and then fanned out racing across Tibet to posts on its southern frontier. But until that date the border was open.

000 I had seen again and again between Baralacha Pass and Pagmur these fast-moving Tibetan horsemen going like the wind and armed with either rifles or revolvers or both. There were a dozen or so in some bands. None had molested us. But the idea grew that perhaps so[illegible]rauding band might.

529 This night at Pagmur I learned more startling news from my new Army friends. There were somewhere in this region two hundred armed bandits who had raided for years in Sinkiang and Tibet but who had moved south as the Communist influence became strong up north. These were the famous Kasak bandits who for years had made their living by raiding. They would kill if they were resisted. But their pattern of raiding was only to run off all livestock, to seize all guns and ammunition, to take all the food of a camp, and then on a selective basis take what other articles of clothing or equipment suited their fancy.

000 The rifles of these Indian soldiers looked more and more comforting and appealing to me as the story of the Kasak bandits was related at Pagmur.

"When do you return to Leh?" I asked the officer.

"In the morning."

"What will you do when you reach Leh?"

"Be assigned to garrison duty."

"Isn't it more fun to be on the trail, camping out every night?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stay with me. We'll all go to Leh together."

"But my orders read—"

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced 175
their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following 779
a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, 175
written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and 648 •
independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propa- 648
ganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students 208
have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 648
208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By selecting the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beautifully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the *Saturday Evening Post* for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They consulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies frequently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

• 648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to understand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

•648 792 647 exercises almost complete jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and in temporal affairs. This region is his fief, and he is the supreme overlord.

In recent years, the Chinese have capitalized on this strategic position of the Panchen Lama. The previous Panchen Lama in 1924 quarreled with the Dalai Lama and left Lhasa for China. He stayed there until his death in 1937. Then the Chinese, in control of the selection of his predecessor, chose the present Panchen Lama. Up to August 1951, this Panchen Lama had never left China, had never been in Lhasa. But he, the second-in-command, sat in China urging the Tibetans to make peace with Red China, pleading with them to submit to the "liberation" program which the Communists designed for Tibet.

648 792 The objective of the Chinese Communist government in the summer of 1951 was to get the Dalai Lama under its control. He had become alarmed at the threat of the Red Army to Tibet. So he fled Lhasa, going with his entourage to Yatung, a small monastic town near Mount Everest on the Tibetan-Indian border. I had letters to the Dalai Lama and had arranged to visit him there. But before I arrived, a train of events had changed the course of history and sent the Dalai Lama north, a virtual captive of Red China.

The family of the Dalai Lama and many influential people in the hierarchy pleaded with him not to return to Lhasa. They pointed out that if he did, he would be a ready victim of Communist intrigue. The Communists would work to liquidate the system of landlordism on which the monasteries depended. The Communists would appropriate the wealth of Tibet to their own ends, robbing the church. The Communists would undercut the authority of the Dalai Lama, making him a mere vassal. The Communists would make the monasteries dependent on them for financial support; and once the Communists got effective control, the Dalai Lama and all other lamas would be mere puppets of the Red regime. There were personal reasons as well on the side of leaving Tibet. The Dalai Lama's mother had left Tibet. The

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chinese sent his brother to Yatung to persuade the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa. The brother passed through Yatung, crossed to India, and caught a plane to the United States. The weight of family influence was on the side of quitting Tibet. 648 792

These were the arguments of friends of the Dalai Lama who wanted him to quit Tibet and go to India. There were other arguments I was carrying to Yatung to present as forcefully as possible to the Dalai Lama. There is reason to believe that the Dalai Lama understood this point of view and was sympathetic with it. There is reason to think that if he had his real choice he would have left Tibet.

But the arguments advanced against that move were powerful ones. The Chinese, who had sent a large delegation to Yatung to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, had talking points. First, it was intimated that the Dalai Lama was not the true reincarnation, that he was an impostor, that the Chinese had found the true reincarnation and were ready to install him. Second, the Panchen Lama, long a rival of the Dalai Lama, had been "discovered" by the Chinese, was pro-Chinese in his attitude, and was ready to acquit himself properly should the Dalai Lama refuse to return. Third, Lhasa had long been the religious capital of the Buddhist world. It is to Buddhists what Rome is to Catholics. The great weight of sentiment was for the Dalai Lama to return to the ancient capital, even though it would now be enveloped in a hostile atmosphere. Fourth, many Buddhists thought that if the Dalai Lama returned he might be able to unify the lamas against the Communist influence and present a solid front against Communist infiltration of Lamaism. Fifth, lamas came down from remote monasteries with pleas that the Dalai Lama should not leave the country. These pilgrimages may have been inspired by the Communists. But the thousands of lamas who appeared were doubtless sincere in their requests. When word spread in Yatung that the Dalai Lama was planning to fly out of Yatung and go to India, the lamas lay down on the airport. Hundreds and hundreds

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

148 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged far and wide and were penetrating in their reach.

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Buddhist world.

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said.

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 648 792 power that the Communists will try to get.[1] Perhaps they can get it, not by disturbing the form of the arrangements but by controlling the laymen and lamas appointed to the positions of authority. Such a move would result in changes almost imperceptible but nonetheless destructive of the Dalai Lama's temporal power. The Communists would then be in a position to exploit the differences between rich and poor, to breed discontent among the masses, to appropriate the wealth of the monasteries.

"Is that your prediction?" I asked.

"The Communists will use every means to get control of the wealth of the monasteries. My fear is that they will succeed."

"What will happen then?"

"The monasteries will then become so poor that they cannot carry on their work, or they will become dependent on the Communist government for their financial support."

"And in either case, become subservient to Communist influence?"

"Exactly."

"But that would affect only Tibet. What about Ladakh?"

"The Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of the Mahayan school of Buddhism, which embraces China, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, Lahul, Sikkim, and Spiti. Buddhists in these countries look to him as Catholics look to the Pope in Rome. If the Communists control the Dalai Lama, they are in a fair way of controlling that part of the Buddhist world."

These were the worries and concerns of Bakula. These are the worries and concerns of those who know the Buddhist world.

[1]One of the latest moves by the Communists in Tibet to dilute the temporal power of the Dalai Lama and to decentralize the authority of Lhasa over Tibet is the creation of an administrative council composed of the Dalai Lama and two pro-Communist Tibetans—the Panchen Lama and Sawang Ngabo. Thus the Panchen Lama is restored to the position of power he enjoyed last century. Moreover, the Chinese caused the Dalai Lama to dismiss the loyal Sawang Lukhang, who was Prime Minister and in charge of Tibet during the absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

•648 792 208 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as they draw water from the wells.

538 *In the religious city of Lhasa this year*
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [rifles] in their hands
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 792 668 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese military strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist country, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

•648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
548 be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the " Treaty Road " and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its " Babu " in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

563
162

YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

• 648 Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

687
648 The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in bed sleeps on the outside," as the outside bed-fellow has one side relatively exposed. Sleep at an altitude of about 17,000 feet is fugitive; in fact neither of us got much that night, and, even when it did come, we woke up with a most disagreeable sensation, as if somebody were sitting on our chests so that we could not properly fill them with air.

We have finally arrived at Drogpo Karpo, where the conference is to take place. This is a large grassy plain, surrounded by snow mountains, at the further end of which the camp is pitched. In the centre are the tents of the Commissioner and Wazir with their respective flags. In front of these stands a square tent nicely carpeted, in which are a table and chairs. This is to serve as conference room. We had arrived a little before time, and before the Tibetans. They, however, turned up soon afterwards, and presented quite an impressive sight, as they rode, two and two, into camp. First came, not the standard bearer, but the Umbrella-of-State-Bearer. After these some soldiers, although we should not have recognized them as such, had we not inquired as to their function, for there was nothing very martial about them, save the muzzle-loaders they bore. They wore the usual dressing-gown coats of homespun held together round the waist by a big kammerbund, red Wellington boots with very thick soles and hats shaped somewhat like lemon squeezers. These were followed by various members of the staff, then the great man himself, whilst still others followed him. Having settled themselves into their quarters, the Wazir sent a message across to say that H.H. the Maharajah desired them to regard themselves as his guests. They on their part sent a delegation with twenty-five bricks of tea, and a piece of *snambu* (homespun) with the request that a time be fixed when their chief representative, the Gaspon, could come to pay his respects. Punctually to time he arrived. His dress consisted of a lovely blue skirt, and a Chinese coat of the same colour which was buttoned up to his neck. His

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

hat was the same shape as that of the London messenger boy only with the addition of a large brim which was turned up all round, and on the top was a red knob made of coral. From the lobe of one of his ears depended an elongated earring made of turquoises. It would take a professional reporter of fashions to describe all the various kinds of hats worn, but perhaps the most favoured head-gear was an English felt hat, worn the wrong way round,—as it would be in this country,—that is the ordinary long axis going across the head. Others liked to flatten them into a round shape, like a padre's hat. Then there were hats made of papier mâché in almost any shape that might occur to the fancy. The Tehsildar seems to have desired to create the impression that he was wearing a *chorten* on his head, whilst the Gaspon's little son preferred the idea of a candle snuffer.

On arrival the Gaspon placed a salutation scarf round the neck of the Commissioner. Photographs were then taken, after which we entered the conference tent, where we sat round a table, and, by means of an interpreter some kind of conversation was sustained:—the word "sustained" is used advisably, for even our Ladaki servants who speak the language of Western Tibet, cannot understand these representatives from the forbidden land, so special interpreters are needed. Next to me sat a jolly old lama on whom I tried to air my Tibetan. He evidently could understand just sufficient to be thoroughly amused. He had quite a jovial face, and was evidently no ascetic, but resembled much more the good old English friar, so often represented in pictures engaged in piscatorial pleasures. Needless to say more presents were given. Business began next day, but one regrets to have to report that it was impossible to make our friends from across the border see reason, and so there was finally nothing for it, but to exchange still more presents, and to return to our various homes.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792
534
576

792
534

● 648
342

A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. Pg. 192

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine [101] people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emi- [144] grants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races intermingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line.

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis.

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 [691] [704] **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

[439] [648] [624] [651] [972]